



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

HARVARD LAW LIBRARY



3 2044 061 159 075

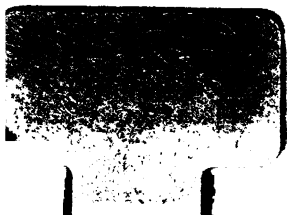
Kellog

**Cable Interview Between The
President and The Queen**

HD

163
158.4

1870



163
158.4

CABLE INTERVIEW

BETWEEN

THE PRESIDENT

AND

THE QUEEN.

BY

E. H. KELLOGG.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.:
SAMUEL BOWLES & COMPANY.
1870.

163
158.4

CABLE INTERVIEW

67

BETWEEN

THE PRESIDENT

AND

THE QUEEN.

BY

E. H. KELLOGG.



SPRINGFIELD, MASS.:
SAMUEL BOWLES & COMPANY.
1870.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1869, by
E. H. KELLOGG,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of
Massachusetts.

OCT 8 1934

SAMUEL BOWLES & COMPANY,
Electrotypers, Printers and Binders,
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.



CABLE INTERVIEW.

President. Madame—Your virtues constitute no inconsiderable part of the felicity of the present age. I know your purposes cannot be formulated in the public measures of your kingdom ; but neither its constitutional restraints nor its territorial limits can baffle the vehement glow of your gracious goodness ; and every province of civilized society, without as within your dominions, is touched and warmed by its beams. Our leading nations are now enjoying the reign of peace. With slight intermissions, this reign has been commensurate with yours ; and the world cannot help associating the great blessing with Victoria ; its august and anxious friend ; who has been for a third of a century, throned

at the head of one of the foremost of the races of men. Illustrious period! Immortal, in human annals! For what other great earthly throne has shed on mankind, so abundantly, the influences of the gospel of peace. Princes, rulers, cabinets, from a chivalric deference to the sentiments of a humane queen, curb the violence of their councils. Human passion, that sports with the highest interests of mankind, feels the restraint, and hesitates in its career. You have modulated the voice of war itself. Perceptibly, it intones with less of thunderous harshness. I thank you. Few, indeed, are the titles to human regard, that you have not won. Elective, prescriptive, given of divine or human right; here is majesty that commands the homage of all. Nature's royalty, like her noblemen, silences all cavil, and awakens instant enthusiasm, wherever it appears. Conscious of this potential influence, you are no less conscious of your accountability, for its right use.

Queen. I hope I am, General. What do you mean?

Pres. In the position I now hold, I feel the same accountability ; and I pray, madame, the privilege of a conversation with you.

Qu. Certainly, General, though I know not the subject.

Pres. It deeply concerns the public interests, and this is my apology for trespassing on your goodness.

Qu. Is it Cuba ?

Pres. It involves more immediately the two branches of the British race.

Qu. Canada ?

Pres. It grew out of our War of the Rebellion, madame.

Qu. "My prophetic soul !" The "Alabama claims."

Pres. Yes, madame.

Qu. Isn't that difficulty blowing over, General ?

Pres. I think not, madame.

Qu. What's happened now ? Has Mr. Sumner made another of his speeches ?

Pres. It is a difficulty, madame, that will not settle itself ; but the two nations can arrange it

speedily, if they will approach it in the right temper.

Qu. No doubt of it. Let us have a good talk about it, General.

Pres. Do you mind if I smoke, madame?

Qu. Oblige me, General, by smoking.

Pres. You may remember that when I opened the canvass for the American Chief Magistracy, I saluted the people with the strongest wish of my heart, "Let us have peace."

Qu. I do.

Pres. My country responded to the sentiment with significant emphasis.

Qu. A wise decision, General, we all think.

Pres. An emphasis that tells how dear is peace, not only to my war-wearied country, but to a war-wearied world. It is the inspiration of our national policy at home, and I would fain propound the same wish to all foreign nations, "Let us have peace."

Qu. Spoken like a Christian. Such rulers——

Pres. I turn with solemn solicitude to the elder branch of the British race, and utter the same prayer, "Let us have peace."

Qu. With all my heart. God knows my heart——

Pres. I am not unaccustomed to grave public responsibilities, and I assume them without fear ; but when I contemplate the relations between England and America, I experience an anxiety that is new to me. Madame, I would not have the memory of a desperate war between us follow me to my grave.

Qu. God forbid ! Nor I.

Pres. War in this age of the world is rarely, very rarely, justifiable. Providence summoned our people to battle, as the only means of relieving our country from slavery. We obeyed the orders and fought ; but as to the object of the war, the Supreme Commander kept his own counsels till it was nearly accomplished. We all see it now, and are reconciled. But who can believe that Providence initiates or sanctions any of the international wars of this age ? They are the work of weak and wicked cabinets ; of cold and tyrannical politicians, who laugh hideously at the mass of men who bear their burdens. Our own diplomatists are much above

the average, and are as good men, by nature, as any of us ; but they are nearly all graduates of the school of politics ; and it is not in their second nature to negotiate without an eye over the shoulder, to see how self-interest may be affected. Were they pure as angels, they hold dependent positions, and are, therefore, not entirely safe. I declare to you, madame, that in my temporary power, and looking before and after, I feel as absolute freedom to seek solely the good of my country and the world, as you feel on your life-inherited throne. It is beneath my patriotism, it is beneath my pride of manhood, to suffer the control of this question of war to go into weaker hands, or be jeopardized by the accidents of time. Here is my anxiety. Here is my burden. I cast around for help. I look upon the other party to the difficulty. I find the throne of England occupied by an unperverted nature, whose power and independence are equal to my own, and whose sense of accountability is as lively as mine. Shall we remain idle, when it is in our power to compass and compel the danger that lowers over our race ?

Qu. Before Heaven ! It would be criminal.

Pres. Oh, madame, how easy to see from these heights of humanity, that peace is the chief blessing to the valleys below. I am not given to rhapsody, but if anything could make me sing, it would be seeing all my fellow-men enjoying that reign of peace, heralded by the angels, at the Nativity.

Qu. "Peace on earth."

Pres. "Good will to men."

Both. Amen, amen and amen.

Pres. Madame, under God, earth's chief interests are under our protection.

Qu. How is that ; I feel so too ; explain.

Pres. Weigh the values of this globe ; the subdued parts of its surface ; its agriculture ; its mechanical industries ; its commerce ; its arts, science, literature and education ; its assured liberties ; its better civil politics, and institutions ; its rational allegiance to the Creator of all things ; in short, all the constituent parts of that fabric of civilization, without which, this planet is a blank, in creation ; and where do you find them chiefly located ?

Qu. Ah! I see; go on.

Pres. In that northern zone mostly inhabited by our race, and our kindred, the Northern European nations.

Qu. Still, how say you that England and America are the protectors of earth's chief interests?

Pres. Let our nations march steadfastly on under the white banner, and all these northern kindred nations will rally to the joy-inspiring emblem. With these store-houses and implements of civilization secure under the reign of peace, let the Southern Latin nations indulge in their little wars; they cannot impede the progress of mankind or endanger its substantial interests. They are not masters or leaders in the march of civilization. I would not call them camp-followers.

Qu. Virgil and Cicero would rise up and challenge you, General.

Pres. The Roman supremacy was absolute in its day, but it disappeared entirely. The supremacy of modern times is in the North. No, madame, the Latin races can never compete with the tribes that sprung from the German

forests. I have weighed both races in battle; the former in Mexico; the latter in our own country. The Mexican does not come so near fifty pounds, as our people do to two hundred.

Qu. How ridiculous, General.

Pres. Of course I mean in physical and intellectual capacity.

Qu. But your description includes the French.

Pres. My country's friends; and an interesting and powerful nation; half of their blood is ours; and they would be with us, if their moral natures were not consumed in that passion for military glory that Napoleon set on fire. The figure that that man makes in History is stupendous; but the shape is questionable. Every device that despotic power could command, he used to emblazon Paris with mementoes of his battles. In the eyes of rational men, the sight is childish; and the French themselves begin to think that their superb metropolis should put on some outward tokens of respect for the pursuits of peace, as well as of war. I hail every sign of France's recovery from her delirium of mili-

tary glory. Her sword will never again trace out the outlines for all the European nations.

Qu. The poor Emperor! what miserable health he has.

Pres. I wish him good health and happiness; but he has never been right well, 'madame, since he found he was only the second man in Europe.

Qu. When was that?

Pres. June—'66.

Qu. My daughter Victoria, Princess of Prussia, thinks the world of Bismarck.

Pres. I thank him for breaking the spell of French supremacy in Continental politics. It is only our kindred, the Northern nations, rising to their natural ascendancy. No, madame; deem me not visionary in the importance I attach to the continuance of peace between our nations. I am a practical man, but the light that illumines these heights of power, seems to penetrate the veil and light up the future. I do think I see the great interests of mankind under our pilotage, as in a life-boat. Who will polish the earth and enamel it with green, if we do not? Who will work its laboratory of teeming fruits, if we

do not? Who will fabricate the furniture of civilization, if we do not? Who will make the exchanges and marts of trade hum with their music, if we do not? Whose commerce will irradiate the dark places of the earth, if not ours? Who will protect and civilize Africa, if we do not? In whose borders will liberty dwell, if not in ours? In what tongues will her songs be chaunted, if not in ours? From what Bible will the gospel be preached to all nations, if not King James'? Whose soldiers of the cross will establish that kingdom that cometh not with observation, if not ours? Whose altars will secure the forbearance of Heaven towards the crimes of men, if not ours?

Qu. Would a war really ruin both nations. General, think you?

Pres. I have great confidence in the stability of my nation, madame, much more than I have in yours. Our circumstances are very different. But nations know not "when their feet shall slide," more than men. Look at those nations that successively ascended the heavens, and led the world like the lord of day. Assyria, Baby-

lon, Persia, Greece, Rome, Venice, Genoa and Spain. In the day of their glory, they little thought of their present eclipse. I do not think that nations have periods assigned to their lives like men ; but if you would make them immortal, you must keep their vital forces in vigor, and protect them from outward harm.

Qu. You are looking for a great war ; if it come at all, I see.

Pres. Undoubtedly, madame, if our nations prepare for a collision, they will each put on their very heaviest armor for the shock. It is not useful for us to speculate too freely on the field after the battle. Every nation carries within itself the seeds of its own destruction. They will certainly germinate if the ploughshares run deep enough to expose them to the sun. " Let us have peace " ! Be assured this is the ruling desire of my life ; it will be strong in death.

Qu. I assure you, General, that neither you or any other ruler, can go before me in aspirations for universal peace. As to its importance between our nations I fully appreciate the view you take of it ; and I respond with all my heart

to your sentiment, "Let us have peace." I am surprised and delighted at the earnestness with which you, as the organ of America, declare its desire for peace with England. I have always placed you on the list of friendly nations ; but your friendship has always seemed to me a coinage of the head rather than of the heart. I never could understand the cold and suspicious style of your business intercourse with us. I am often painfully reminded of this by contrast ; when I see the free and easy style, the hearty good will, with which you greet and treat some other nations. My friend, the Czar, for instance, seems privileged to enjoy the choicest oblations of your friendship. You fondle and caress the Russian bear ; when if the British lion casts his most benignant look toward you, you bridle up, in a moment, for a passage at arms. You are really more intimate with the Grand Turk than with us. And as to France, she seems to be your first love, and your last love. If she pushes, unbidden, into Mexico ; you bow, and bow, and bow, till you bow her off your Monroe-doctrined premises ; whereas, if we were the trespassers,

in all probability, it would be a bow, with a drawn sword in full view. However offensively she may treat you, you are always flirting with your "la belle France," as you call her.

Pres. Madame; when her Emperor visited England, he kissed the sovereign; so the newspapers said.

Qu. The sovereign only; not the individual; mind, sir.

Pres. The Emperor rarely does things in a Pickwickian sense though.

Qu. Let this interview be closed at once! you American Democrats—

Pres. I thought the pleasantry fairly provoked, madame; I ask pardon. I hope I have not compromised myself before my errand is half accomplished.

Qu. Be brief; please.

Pres. Ah, madame, how superficially the world interprets the attachments of America. The civilities shown to other nations, that your majesty has hit off so pleasantly, are only a part of that polite demeanor that it is usual to maintain in general society, while the heart bathes and

refreshes itself in the still waters that flow from the closer and dearer of the human relations. It is not philosophical to predicate of America, a sincerer friendship for other nations, than for England. I would not use pedantic language in this presence, madame ; but it is not so. We are of one household ; in faith, in blood, in language, and in civil arrangements. This relation is decreed of God. It is beyond our reach. Time cannot change it. Accident cannot jostle it ; and when the exigency is sufficiently momentous, this voice of nature will always assert itself. When shipwreck flings its burden of struggling life on the engulfing sea ; does mercy reach the hand of rescue to the pleasant stranger first, or to the kindred ones ? You may smile, madame, when I tell you, that if one of those attempts at national life, not unheard of in the history of Europe, should be aimed at England, the first and most effective aid would come from America. And yet I think so. England is the birthplace of our own race. She holds the graves of our fathers. Northamptonshire holds Washington's and Franklin's ancestors ;

Plymouth, the Adams's; Snowden guards Jefferson's; and every county of England, aye, of Caledonia and Erin, contains the revered dust. Had we a "decoration day" for the graves of our ancestors in the British isles, as we have for our soldiers slain in the rebellion; your country would be strown all over with the fragrant emblems of filial regard. You wonder at the multitude of Americans who flock to your shores for the tour of Europe; and your only explanation is, that a people of great general intelligence, in a country without the treasures of antiquity, must have their tastes only theoretically trained; and that they therefore instinctively seek the complement of their education, by going where they can rest their eyes on the treasures themselves.

Qu. Well, is not that so, General?

Pres. Indeed it is, madame; but there is another impelling motive unnoticed. They wish to visit the home of the childhood of the race. Do you not observe that while these tourists traverse the continent; exhilarated with life in France; awed by St. Peters; agitated with the

memories of dead Rome; enraptured with Switzerland; and spell-bound by the magic disclosures of the thousand art galleries of the continent; England is the only shrine before which the voice of nature brings them to the bended knee. Out upon the thoughtless world that cannot rightly interpret this holy emotion! They are not a captive people, with their joyless harps hung on the willows, but the bright and cheerful hosts of a new Jerusalem, coming back for a holiday around the old Zion. Observe how they haunt the cities of the dead, for traces of their own origin; uncover moss-grown entablatures for dear names they themselves bear, and turn over musty manuscript records, for marriages, births and deaths. Note too, how they hasten to enter the charmed circles of those grounds, where genius has elaborated the strongest aliment of their mental growth; how they saunter up and down the banks of those streams; Avon, the Thames, the Tweed, and Bonny Doon; whose literature has been their perpetual song and solace for generations; how, too, when they enter the Abbey, House of the Great Dead, they leave the iron prisons of royal

dust, (pardon them, madame,) to contemplate the images of those kings and seraphs, who have made our mother tongue a flame of fire to their ardent intelligences.

Qu. General, I thought you was only a business man. You are a poet ; you shall be my next poet-laureate.

Pres. I should hardly rise above "Blow ye the trumpet, blow," I fear. But the tongue-tied condition of the two countries is no myth, madame.

Qu. What's that now ! tongue-tied, say you ?

Pres. I mean a common mother tongue is more than the cable ; it is a bridge, Atlantic-wide ; and we claim a right of way over it to our ancient intellectual demesnes, whether you want to use it or not.

Qu. I, at least, should like to drive over it. What would I give to see that vast country that speaks our language.

Pres. You might travel westward, till you saw the Pacific sea ; and still be within the ever-extending, ever-unfolding ranks that resound with the music of our mother tongue.

Qu. Pray God, you may ever be a happy and a good people.

Pres. If you should come there, madame, you would make our people absolutely crazy.

Qu. O no, General; and yet, I don't know. When the Prince of Wales was there, you feasted him, frolicked and danced with him, with a right good will that astonished me. Would you believe it; it made me cry. Explain this, Mr. Philosopher; though you disclaim the title. Your people are principled against hereditary sovereigns.

Pres. To say nothing of the universal homage your virtues would command; your presence would represent the embodied authority of the elder branch of our household. No heavy seas of national feeling are put in motion, unless some of the tenderer ties are struck. The Prince of Wales touched the harp-strings that you would wake to the wildest moans of ecstasy.

Qu. Poor Edward! it almost turned his head. The boy has never been so steady since.

Pres. Your visit to us would have the same effect if you came as plain President, like myself.

Qu. When at Balmoral or Osburne I sometimes think I would gladly exchange our expensive and disagreeable parades for your plain ways.

Pres. If some of the crowned heads that you have mentioned in another connection, madame, should visit us, they would be treated with a polite hospitality, stared at, and allowed to pass on. You remember the mighty stir that Charles Dickens made when he first visited our country.

Qu. Ah ; you man-worshippers !

Pres. Not at all, madame. He had acquired great and merited popularity with us as a dextrous scene-shifter in the show of human life ; but no such irreverent cockney in the temple of nature, as could feel and print disgust for the Mississippi River (think of Walter Scott sneering at this highway for the commerce of all the zones) could have awakened the noisy enthusiasm he did, unless he had represented much more than himself.

Qu. Well now, what else was it ?

Pres. He was a distinguished delegate from that portion of the Republic of English letters for which my nation of readers instinctively feels

the profoundest interest. Not a star of those that fret the vault above, a scenery that is ever present to our eyes as to yours, ever trembles and falls without producing great emotion with us. The unexpected deaths of a Scott and a Macaulay, make sincere mourners of us all. Yes, madame, these natural relations that subsist between us, make a stronger alliance, a sincerer *entente cordiale*, than your cabinets can establish with any of the Latin nations. It is a substantial foundation on which we ought to, and must, build our resolution to maintain peace.

Qu. General, I solemnly declare that I admit the existence of all these reasons for peace as heartily as you urge them. And yet how is it, that when a difficulty arises that threatens it, I find you the most cantankerous nation to deal with that the sun shines on.

Pres. To use your own freedom of language, madame, when friends turn, unawares, and go to thumping friends, the exasperation is much greater than when the parties are indifferent strangers.

Qu. Well.

Pres. The anger is in proportion to the duty of friendship and forbearance that binds the assailant.

Qu. And do you mean by this to describe our quarrel.

Pres. I pray you, madame, let us consider the circumstances, patiently, for a moment. A calamity that you are aware overhangs all nations, finally fell upon ours; an internal rebellion. It was not an ordinary rebellion. Civilization, of which your country was in the van, was pushing African slavery to the wall; and having its strongest foothold in our country, it rose to establish itself as a permanent power by subverting a part or the whole of the country that was its nearest foe. Its first onset was so furious as to stagger a great nation before it could make ready to cripple the assailant. This sudden and mad assault was upon one of the leading nations of the world, a nation that enjoyed the friendship of England, by the ties that we have considered. How should that friendly nation have acted in such a state of things?

Qu. How can I tell? I am no lawyer. Ask our judges. They applied the law to the case.

Pres. I am no lawyer myself, and if I were, I certainly should not abuse the privilege of this interview, by proposing a diplomatic discussion to you, madame ; but if a lively sense of justice be the best interpreter of the law, I want no better judge than yourself. Now, it is justice, as well as scriptural teaching, that friends should do each other all the good they can ; and if differences of opinion occur that cannot be reconciled without a contest, that they should do each other the least possible harm that is consistent with the accomplishment of their object. I have always noticed that if you are satisfied which party is to blame in a quarrel, you have already found which party the law, if called on, will hold liable. This rule is just as good for rulers, as for private persons ; for nations, as for individuals.

Qu. That's just as Wellington used to talk ; the honest old soldier ! He was a dear father to me.

Pres. Does it seem right, madame, that you should have set the example that other nations

were but too ready to follow, of taking these rebels, the moment they raised their banner, and bringing them into the family of nations.

Qu. We did not acknowledge their independence.

Pres. Excuse me, you did, for all the purposes of their war.

Qu. How were we to know that slavery was at the bottom of the rebellion.

Pres. Whatever may have been its cause, was it friendly for you to raise the rebels to our level, or sink us to theirs, before we could express Mr. Adams to you to explain the matter?

Qu. You must ask Russell and the judges; they managed then.

Pres. Suppose your India should rebel again, would it be friendly in us to give them belligerent rights, and the run of our Pacific ports, before the news had scarcely reached you?

Qu. It is easy to suppose cases, General.

Pres. Should Ireland rebel next Christmas day, would it be friendly in us to make them a nation for war purposes, by New Years?

Qu. That is not a parallel case. We gave you more than a week.

Pres. Brief space for subduing a great rebellion, madame.

Qu. I wish the cable had been in operation then, so we could have understood matters better.

Pres. I doubt whether your cabinet would have waited Mr. Adams' arrival, if we had besought them momentarily by strokes of lightning.

Qu. You are excited, General.

Pres. Oh, madame, it was an unaccountable proceeding on the part of a friend; the source of much of our woe. Was your own mind quite easy, madame, when they hurried you up to issue that proclamation?

Qu. I do confess I was not satisfied. I would have given much to have had Prince Albert my Prime Minister then. But they said you yourselves had made the rebels belligerents by blockading their ports.

Pres. Your government had not then even received official notice of this closing of the ports. But all this argument of your government is unfair. If one of your coast counties should rebel,

could you not close its ports without building up a new nation at your very door?

Qu. But your rebellion covered more than counties. It embraced almost half your states.

Pres. It was nearly co-extensive with its cause, slavery; as was natural it should be. But its territorial extent would not settle the question of our ability to suppress it.

Qu. But an important element in it surely.

Pres. Not when you consider the power of the populous North, and its being armed with the right of the quarrel.

Qu. But then I was told if we met your Southern men on the seas, we must treat them as belligerents or hang them as pirates. Would you have us gibbet gentlemen?

Pres. Had this case of embarrassment actually occurred, madame?

Qu. I think not.

Pres. Was there immediate danger of your meeting rebels on the ocean?

Qu. I don't know. I think Russell said I would see enough of them out.

Pres. Did Lord Russell explain to you how

they would come out of their own ports with war vessels, when those ports were closed and guarded?

Qu. I don't remember that he did.

Pres. I only wish you to understand, madame, that you made ocean belligerents out of rebels, when there were no ocean rebels afloat.

Qu. Was there not a fair probability, however, that they would have shipping afloat?

Pres. Test it by the event. With one or two exceptions, no vessels left their ports during the whole war.

Qu. What harm then in declaring them belligerents.

Pres. We are now coming to the bite of the question, madame. Do you not see that by opening up the ocean to their flag and foreign marts where they could purchase armaments and munitions, you were inviting them to flock to foreign shores to procure what they could not get at home; war vessels?

Qu. They knew the law did not allow them to procure such vessels here.

Pres. After tempting them with the free field

of the ocean, laden as it was with our commerce ; and after tendering their vessels the hospitalities of your ports ; they did not believe you when you said you would enforce the law against them.

Qu. What presumption !

Pres. After arousing such vast expectations, you were certainly in a poor condition to resist their efforts to circumvent you ; more especially as an important portion of your population were co-operating with them.

Qu. Is this civil language, General ?

Pres. The offense itself, madame, was quite uncivil. If you believe peace is my object in this interview, you will respect my motive and bear with me in the use of such language as is necessary to explain our view of the offense. But I will not particularize. You were perfectly conversant with the tone of satisfaction your higher classes exhibited at the opening prospects of the rebellion. You knew your eminent ship-builders to be in league with the rebels. You saw your best ship-yards exercising all their energies in building war vessels for them.

You heard the shouts of Parliament as those vessels departed on their errand of ocean incendiaries.

Qu. I cannot allow such language. I never had such feelings.

Pres. I believe you, madame, but do I misrepresent the feelings of your country at the time this offense occurred?

Qu. Russell declared he used all the law we had to catch them.

Pres. So he told us. But was it not almost ridiculous in Lord Russell to keep on protesting he used all the law he had, in answer to our complaints. We called on him to prevent the threatened wrong. Duty bound him to do it. What sort of measures he took to reach this end, was no concern of ours. But what aggravates the case immensely, is, that the feeling of your people was so hostile to us, that he dare not call on Parliament to furnish the legislation necessary to enable the country to fulfil its plainest obligation. America does not act thus. We see to it in season that we have the requisite means for fulfilling our neutral obligations. And we do not

hesitate to use them. Your people never sympathized with the rebellion more than our people have with poor Cuba in her struggles for liberty; and yet our government has not hesitated to lay its hands on every vessel, every squad of men, within its reach, that was supposed to threaten our duty of friendship to Spain. Men and nations, madame, resolutely determined to do their duty, will act on moral, as well as legal, evidence. To resort to finesse to escape duty, is disgraceful. The scale on which your government pettifogged to excuse its neglect of duty is simply scandalous.

Qu. General!

Pres. Of course, madame, I could not use such language in public correspondence, but in this private interview, I wish to state clearly why the offense is a public, as well as a private, one; of one sovereignty against another; America against England, as well as Americans against England. Some of your own best public men have described the offense in quite as plain terms; nearly all of them now deeply regret its occurrence.

Qu. That may be true. We have attempted to make reparation, at any rate.

Pres. How?

Qu. By the Johnson treaty, to be sure.

Pres. Ah, madame, in that attempt, you ignored the weightier matter of the law; the offense to our sovereignty.

Qu. Mr. Johnson did not ask it.

Pres. That is true. We supposed that when we sent Johnson to you, he comprehended the whole scope of his errand. He probably did. But your entrancing society knocked his good sense endwise. It was a sorry thing of a treaty your people got out of him.

Qu. I will say for him that he was an agreeable gentleman. How abominably your people mocked at him.

Pres. 'Twas severe. When our people become offended with a man, however great a favorite, they strip him of his feathers before he knows it.

Qu. Are you not sometimes afraid of them yourself, General?

Pres. I have survived my second Shiloh, madame.

Qu. Shiloh ! what is that ?

Pres. After I had won some battles in the war, Beauregard surprised me into a battle at Shiloh, which I did not lose, and hardly won. The country did not understand it and murmured, and I went under a dark cloud. I soon retrieved my position however in subsequent battles.

Qu. Well ; your second Shiloh ?

Pres. When I assured the government, I thought it my duty to make my own selections for offices. The politicians had been accustomed to distribute this great patronage, and they ravened round me, till I thought they would tear me to pieces. They frightened the country with the idea that I was but a fool after all ; and so I had another eclipse. I persevered, however, and the public confidence soon returned ; and I am all right again. I call it my second Shiloh, madame.

Qu. And now you think you must make England do the right thing or you will have a third Shiloh !

Pres. That may prove true, madame, whatever may be my motive for troubling you.

Qu. This Johnson treaty now! had you accepted it, it would have settled the difficulty surely.

Pres. Never, madame.

Qu. Why, pray?

Pres. It did not provide for the main grievance; the affront to our sovereignty.

Qu. I cannot understand your sensitiveness upon this point, General.

Pres. Will you not see and acknowledge, madame, that when we were in a life and death struggle with our foe, and were entitled that all professed friends should keep their distance, you stepped in and supported the foe, against the laws, not only of neutrality, but of all honorable warfare? Our country felt this to be not only a great injury, but a degrading insult; and its spirit will never recover its level, until the ordinary acknowledgments in such cases, are openly made.

Qu. You would humble us, would you?

Pres. It is no humiliation, madame, for a party,

sensible of having wronged another, to advance and make acknowledgments; to refuse, argues a want of magnanimity.

Qu. Is it possible that any of my people wished to see America broken asunder?

Pres. How the devil could so suddenly conjure up a temptation big enough to fill them with this unnatural wish, I'm sure I never could understand; our people were struck with horror to see the proof of it. You remember the Trent affair, madame.

Qu. Yes, your hair-brained commander invaded our ships.

Pres. And Seward's letter of explanation arrived with the news itself nearly, and Russell pocketed it, that England's alacrity to pitch into us, hard pushed as we were, might not be checked.

Qu. Well, General, what is the best way to meet the difficulty. Can't Motley and Clarendon arrange it?

Pres. Motley is a manly American. He will ask for nothing but what is right, and submit to nothing that is wrong; and will preserve his bal-

ance under any circumstances. But this is not the way to meet this case. The offender must make the advances. Send us a special embassy; instructed to say, "we come to express England's regrets at her failure to fulfil her duties of neutrality in your late war." All the rest is easy. It is not difficult to arrange a tribunal to pass upon the money claims.

Qu. Not so difficult to pass upon the claims, perhaps, as it will be to pay them. If Mr. Sumner's views are to prevail, Golconda and Australia and California could not pay them. What does he mean? Is he crazy? We all know Mr. Sumner and used to think highly of him.

Pres. He is still your friend. In our congressional tournaments with slavery he has always been our lion-hearted Richard. He felt keenly the injury done us in your premature encouragement of the rebellion; and he was particularly annoyed at the lame result of Johnson's embassy that he had had a hand in sending to you. These things perhaps enlivened his ardor somewhat when dwelling upon our claims.

Qu. His extravagance provoked everybody in

England, and hurt the cause with us more than Johnson did with you.

Pres. He felt it his duty to portray the damage in its entire extent; he advocated no claim covering the whole. Mr. Sumner has patriotism, learning and great breadth of mind.

Qu. Tested by this Atlantic indictment he brings against us, he certainly has breadth enough, and height enough, and depth enough; but where is his judgment to regulate it. But you have been very quiet lately about our difficulty, General.

Pres. We thought best to let the waters subside a little that Mr. Johnson had agitated on our side, and Mr. Sumner on yours.

Qu. Then you don't propose to keep the matter open so that you can take your revenge in kind, in case we have a war or a rebellion.

Pres. No, madame. Though that revenge would certainly be taken if the matter be left open till you are engaged in war. I give you timely notice, that it would not be in our power to prevent it. The two American coasts, both studded with your sails, are a little too lengthy

for us to keep watch and ward over. But we want no such revenge. And we now wait patiently for you to take the proper steps for a settlement.

Qu. It must be settled. Well, now if we agree to the special embassy, whom shall we send?

Pres. I wish Lord Ashburton were alive.

Qu. Well, whom shall we send? Not Laird, I suppose, General.

Pres. We would shrive him and send him to heaven.

Qu. Roebuck?

Pres. Keep the fellow whetting knives in Sheffield.

Qu. Wharncliffe?

Pres. Madame; you are pleasant.

Qu. Russell?

Pres. He's a sorry old plug.

Qu. What's that?

Pres. It's a thing that stops things. It don't forward them.

Qu. We don't want him, then. What say you to Lowe?

Pres. He would get us all by the ears.

Qu. D'Israeli?

Pres. He is one of your impalpable geniuses. He resides in the air.

Qu. Gladstone?

Pres. A great and good man ; if he did tell the world, as your chancellor, that Jeff. Davis had created a new nation.

Qu. He has withdrawn that.

Pres. He is an example of magnanimity.

Qu. He is one of my noblemen.

Pres. He would do well, if he would not lose himself in the rosy labyrinth of his metaphysical garden ; but you can't spare him.

Qu. Stanley?

Pres. Just the man ; send him.

Qu. John Bright?

Pres. Just the man, again ; send either or both. Together they would be followed by the entire confidence of your country ; and secure its acquiescence in whatever they should do. Either alone, would do well.

Qu. We will give your suggestions a careful consideration, General ; and though some of your

remarks have disturbed me a little, be assured that our interview shall not harm, if it does not help, the interests of peace.

Pres. I am truly grateful, madame, for an opportunity of doing, what seemed to me to be a duty, in the interest of the cause we both have at heart. In taking my leave —

Qu. Bye the bye, General, what's become of Seward? Have your people ostracised him altogether?

Pres. If they have, madame, history will un-ostracise him. He did more to drive slavery to the wall than any other ten men in our country; and when the war endangered our nation, he was second to no man but Lincoln in saving it.

Qu. You exclude yourself, sir.

Pres. When we lost Lincoln he undertook, with the best of motives, the care of the country under the untoward administration of his successor, but the task was too great for him; he persevered out of pride, vexed himself, and vexed his friends, till they turned away to other men. But our country bears few, very few, better individual records.

Qu. On this side we were all amazed at the wonderful dexterity with which he parried so long the attempts of the outside world to lay its hands upon you in your troubles. I would have liked much to have seen that wild growth of your prairies, Lincoln. Few men nestled nearer the heart of mankind. Your martyr's widow, is she still a wanderer in the earth? Poor thing: your nation ought to have cared for her.

Pres. I hope she will soon return. I do think she will be tenderly cared for.

Qu. You observed, General, that you had less confidence in the stability of our nation than your own. What did you mean.

Pres. Our nation rests on the solid foundation of equal rights. The people are content and therefore conservatives. Your nation is based on classes with very unequal rights. The sufferers will always be revolutionists.

Qu. But we make changes by legislation, not by revolution.

Pres. It is fortunate, madame, that you can pursue the milder method; for through legisla-

tion or through force, the revolutionists will always pursue their great object; equal rights. And they ought to.

Qu. And this you deem dangerous.

Pres. Internal commotion, proceeding from a vivid sense of wrong, exposes a nation to danger external as well as internal. Shall I point to examples?

Qu. No. The end then must be a republic.

Pres. Yes, madame, if nothing else will secure the object.

Qu. But all enjoy equal protection of person and property.

Pres. True; but your lands and privileges are horrid monopolies; though these are possessions dearest to the human heart, the bulk of your people are excluded from them. They must be equally accessible to all.

Qu. All a dead level! Do you like that, General?

Pres. No dead level at all, madame. Personal merit will build its ranks as numerous and as high as privilege can. But they are accessible to all.

Qu. My lords and landed aristocracy are tough fellows. They will hug their privileges to the last.

Pres. They must yield soon. They are angry with you, madame, for communing with the people through the press, and for taking their great and trusted leader, John Bright, into your society. They talk of apostates, madame.

Qu. I like the people. I will do as I please.

Pres. Hasten on the progress of this beneficent reform. Be the queen of a noble nation of Englishmen, all enjoying equal rights.

Qu. Wouldn't it be fine? I am afraid though, they would, by and by, laugh my Edward out of the kingdom. I must look to that.

Pres. Let him come to us. We'll make a Congressman of him. Shall I take my leave, madame?

Qu. How is Cuba getting on, General?

Pres. First rate, I hope.

Qu. Spain has drawn the life-blood out of that poor island. I wonder she can fight at all.

Pres. She has maintained her ground until the time has nearly come, when we can, accord-

ing to law and usage, lend her a helping hand by acknowledging her independence. God grant she may struggle on till she sees that happy day. We must all be ready to help her then, madame.

Qu. So say I. Haven't your people an itching for that beautiful island, General.

Pres. We do not care to bring it into our sisterhood of States. But we should be glad to see the Island of Cuba and all the others of that beautiful Archipelago, free and independent of the European governments. They are plainly part of our American system and all within our headlands, and right in the paths of our commerce. In peace we get along well enough, but if war breaks out between us and any of your nations three thousand miles off; lo! and behold! your outposts are just under our noses. In all the Greater and Lesser Antilles, we have not space of our own where we can plant a soldier's foot, or a port where we can drop an anchor. This is not reasonable or right.

Qu. Keep out of quarrels, General.

Pres. Things are working, madame. We

shall soon have what we want ; and not quarrel, either. Give me leave to say, adieu, madame ?

Qu. Farewell ; take care of the Fenians, General.

Pres. One word on that subject, before I leave. You must do justice to Ireland, madame.

Qu. Why ; what now ! do justice ! Haven't we just taken our established church out of her ?

Pres. Truly so ; and most all its money with it. But let that pass ; it is better than nothing ; and promises better things. Ireland is in America, madame.

Qu. Shade of O'Connell ! Don't I know where Ireland is ? What do you mean, now ?

Pres. I mean, madame, that the operation of English government upon Ireland, was formerly such that its vigor, its youth, its very heart was transferred to America and became incorporated into ours.

Qu. I know thousands emigrated. Well !

Pres. The heart of America throbs with anxiety and yearning for the comfort, the happiness and the freedom of Ireland.

Qu. Well !

Pres. It tempers the public mind towards England.

Qu. Well!

Pres. You must do her justice; and ought to.

Qu. We shall, undoubtedly.

Pres. Justice to Ireland is an important security for your peace with America.

Qu. What a speculating man you are, General.

Pres. Adieu, your majesty.

Qu. Farewell, since you have broken the ice, I may cable you.

Pres. Do. I will respond cheerily. Adieu.

Qu. Adieu.

Recd. from Hon.
C. H. Kellogg at
Boston, 4th June
1870.

Read 6th July 1870.

